

which the civilized world is preparing, the mighty influence of this great Republic shall be thrown in favor of the oppressor or the oppressed. You have the right to arrest this measure, as a grave departure from the principles of the Constitution, and a violation of solemnly pledged national faith. Let me, then, entreat you to look beyond the mists of passion that surround you, and gaze for a moment on that eternal justice which is the habitation of the throne of the Most High. Decide this question in such a manner as will be most pleasing to that great Being, the elements of whose character are spotless holiness and infinite love. Can you as a patriot array your country in opposition to every attribute of the eternal God? Remember also that your life will have a page in this world's history. An impartial posterity will judge you by your actions, and will assign you a place with good men or with bad, with the benefactors or the enemies of your race. And more than all, you must soon appear before a tribunal where you can claim no precedence whatever over the meanest slave that the sun shines upon. The millions whose moral character has been affected for weal or for woe by your act, will meet you there face to face, in presence of the universe of God. It is my earnest prayer that you may, by divine grace, be enabled to decide this question in view of these solemn realities, so that at that day you may review this transaction with joy, and not with grief, and that the thought may await you, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1854

BACK NUMBERS.—We are still able to supply subscribers to the *Era* from the commencement of the volume, in January last. Persons desiring to commence with the volume, will please state the fact in their orders.

NOTICE TO OUR BOSTON SUBSCRIBERS.

Those of our subscribers in Boston and vicinity who have heretofore received their papers from Mr. G. W. Light, are informed that hereafter they will receive them by mail. Should any subscriber fail to receive his paper, he will oblige us by informing us of the fact, and also of the time to which he has paid his subscription.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

A few words to our subscribers in explanation of several matters between us.

The story of the Saxon Serf was contracted for last May; the author agreed to commence and finish it so that it might open in the beginning of July, and proceed, uninterrupted, in successive numbers of the *Era*, to the close. We agreed to pay him two hundred dollars for it, and, at the urgent instance of a friend of his, advanced him the whole sum before we had received a chapter of it. Months passed, and no Saxon Serf appeared. On our return from Europe, we used every means to induce the author to fulfill his agreement. He wrote a few chapters; stopped; wrote a few more; and stopped again. This brought him to the close of the year. Some time afterwards, he wrote us two chapters more, but these we have determined not to publish till we had received the whole of the story; and so we informed Mr. Herbert. Since then, we have received nothing from him. Our contract was made in May last; the story to be commenced in July, and carried on without interruption: we paid him in full, before we had got a single chapter, last June; this is now April: our readers see how the contract has been fulfilled by Mr. Herbert, and understand why they have been disappointed.

So much for the Saxon Serf.

We announced that in the beginning of this volume it was our intention to begin another story, by a London contributor, entitled "Conrad Wray, or Secret Societies in France." We have not forgotten this. The chapters of this story have been regularly forwarded to us, and are now on file, and, as the series of sketches, by Mary Irving, will close in two or three numbers, we shall begin that story the first week in May. This time, there will be no disappointment.

In this connection, we wish our friends would remember that while our expenses this year are vastly increased, and our Daily Enterprise yields us nothing, but depends altogether upon the Weekly, the Weekly must suffer unless its subscription list be kept up; and this can only be done by attending to renewals, and giving us a list with new subscribers, whenever they are to be had.

THE PARTY OF FREEDOM.

The New York Tribune, if we understand it, has considered the Whig party in a state of dissolution since the last Presidential election; but such has not been the prevalent sentiment among the adherents of that party, for in nearly all the States they have put forth strenuous efforts to keep up their organization.

Nothing has loosened their party ties so much as the late movement for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In the first place, this attempt, producing a reaction of Anti-Slavery feeling among the "Silver Grays" or "Nationals," as they were called, brought them into harmonious co-operation with Liberal Whigs; and in the second place, being sustained by the Whig press of the South, and by the Whig delegation in Congress from that section, with rare exceptions, it broke the bond of the National organization, alienating Northern from Southern Whigs.

The Whig party, which rallied under the banner of Henry Clay, and around the doctrine of Protection in 1844, which placed General Taylor in the Presidential chair in 1848, on the single principle of Non-Interference with the Executive with the action of Congress, and which in 1852 adopted the legislation of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Law as a finality, is no more.

It never derived much strength from its Southern section—never enough to compensate for its concessions to the "peculiar institution." In 1852, when it cast a larger vote than it had done in 1840, 1844, or 1848, the Southern proportion was smaller than ever—not more than 335,000, in a total Whig vote of 1,378,000. It paid more than it had ever done for Slaveholding support, and got less.

It is manifest that all this support is now gone. It cannot look to slaveholders—it would be folly to attempt to win them back by any amount of concession. The shock of the Nebraska convulsion, as a Virginia paper says, "has rent the Whig Party in twain, and a yawning chasm separates the belligerent fragments."

"The Whigs of the South, with a few insignificant exceptions, have met the issue presented by the Nebraska bill, with a courage so unusual as to attract universal respect and admiration. Bell and Butler faltered and fled, but the bulk of the party stood their ground and manfully met the shock. Availing ourselves of the legal maxim, *de minimis non curat lex*, we may assert, that the Whig party of the South approve the repeal of the Missouri restriction with unanimous voice."

"With equal unanimity, and with a zeal which reflects much discredit on the apathy of the late allies in the South, the Northern Whigs have arrayed themselves on opposition to the repeal of the Missouri restriction. In every possible mode, by which the voice of a party can make itself heard, have the Whigs of the North protested and remonstrated against the passage of the Nebraska bill. Their Legislatures, their State conventions, and their primary meetings, have all protested and remonstrated against the 'wrong' and 'iniquity' of the measure. Their newspapers denounced it with a vehemence and indignation, which in expression exhaust even the redundant vocabulary of fanaticism. Their organs of opinion, the temperate passion of their journals in opposing the bill. On the other hand, in no single instance has a Northern Whig spoken in favor of the bill. In no single instance has a Northern Whig journal approved it."

The Petersburg (Va.) *Intelligencer*, speaking for Southern Whigs, says:

"The defection of Mr. Everett and of the National *Intelligencer* from the Whig ranks, is the most serious blow which has been dealt to the fact that Abolitionism and Free-Soilism have, with these accessions, effectually broken the ties which bound together the Whigs of the South and of the North. The former cannot fraternize with the latter, and as their primary meetings, have all protested and remonstrated against the 'wrong' and 'iniquity' of the measure. Their newspapers denounced it with a vehemence and indignation, which in expression exhaust even the redundant vocabulary of fanaticism. Their organs of opinion, the temperate passion of their journals in opposing the bill. On the other hand, in no single instance has a Northern Whig spoken in favor of the bill. In no single instance has a Northern Whig journal approved it."

On the other hand, the New Haven *Palladium* says:

"The *Gazette* Thrown Down.—Mr. Badger, in his recent speech in favor of the Nebraska bill, said that 'the Southern Whig Society would stand in the way of this bill.' He is it, so it must be. Nothing will remain but to pick up the fragments and unite them with the Free Soil and Democratic party that oppose the Nebraska act. The free Whigs will be found in the ranks of the Free Soil and Abolition stock down to 90 per cent below par. The Nebraska bill has already brought it up to par. The passage of that bill will make it the highest stock in market. Even Garrison cannot sink it. Seward, Hale and Chase, never stood so high in public esteem as at present, and John M. Niles, Gideon Welles, and Francis Gilette, stand far for early Governors of Connecticut."

Now, there are at least ten hundred thousand voters in the free States who have been accustomed to vote with the Whig Party. What do they intend to do? There is no Southern Whig Party; its adherents have retired in swelling the ranks of the great Party of Slavery which possesses the South, and yields its political power. Messrs. Toombs, Stephens, Badger, and Clayton, are no more to them, than Pierce, Douglas, Mason, and Butler. What do they intend to do? Cling to a name which now means nothing, and to issues which are obsolete? What does the crisis demand? The union of the non-slaveholders of the country for the sake of Union and Liberty. Free-Soilers or Independent Democrats are willing to form such a union. Anti-Slavery Democrats will not be wanting. A distinct vital issue is presented—the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Slavery demands this—Slaveholders, Whig and Democratic, so-called, insist upon this—the Democracy of the Union is required to make adhesion to it a test. Why should the opponents of the obnoxious measure quarrel among themselves? Why suffer antiquated names and issues to prevent their cooperation against it? The New York *Evening Post* nobly commends the course of Senators Seward and Fish in regard to this measure: the New Haven *Palladium* prefers Houston to Badger, Hale to Clayton. Let their example be imitated—let the spirit that animates them pervade the Northern mind.

For once, let us have a Party of Freedom, meeting the Slaveholders fairly and squarely on the issue they have thrust upon the free States. Let the clamor of Sectionalism be scouted. A struggle for Liberty, the great interest of the whole Nation, cannot be sectional. The forces arrayed in its support may at first be confined chiefly to the free States; but only because the men of the South who would rally with them, are restrained by the overbearing aristocracy of slaveholders.

Let the threat of dissolution be spared. A few hundred thousand slaveholders have long held possession of the Administrative Powers of the General Government, and we have not dissolved the Union, or threatened dissolution. And will they dissolve it, when the millions of the People assume for themselves the exercise of the same powers? Are not the non-slaveholders as capable of governing as the slaveholders? Have the latter any more respect for the Constitution and for State Rights than the former? The Party of Slavery has controlled the Federal Government, and shaped its policy to suit its own creed and interests. Let the Party of Freedom prove its power at the Ballot Box, and assume and wield a Power which has been too long abused.

Such an event would break the prestige of the Slave Power; extinguish the race of Northern serviles; put a stop to the schemes of the Slavery Propaganda; release the South itself from vassalage to an overshadowing Goliath; interest, and lead to the gradual development in that region also of a Party of Freedom.

Now would there be any fear of Disunion. The great party controlling the Government would know how to be just. It would respect the rights of the States, and maintain the Constitution. Slaveholders might fret and fume and threaten, but it would not do for them to rebel against the Government, because by a legitimate vote at the ballot-box, they had been ousted from power. As well might the Democratic Party become revolutionary, at finding itself in a minority. The will of the majority must govern; and if slaveholders be turned out of the high places of honor and power by the majority, they must acquiesce, or do worse.

Again, then, we say, what is the million voters who have acted with the Whig Party, the hundred and fifty thousand who supported Mr. Hale, and the hundreds of thousands Anti-Slavery Democrats, intend to do? Unite at the Ballot-Box, and take the control of the Federal Government, or divide, and permit themselves to be controlled, and the interests of Freedom trampled upon, by three hundred thousand slaveholders!

"IGNORANT PROFESSORS AND INSOLVENT DIVINES."

"Ignorant professors and insolvent divines, whose brains have never been matured by practical knowledge, may degrade themselves and insult the Senate, and outrage the public intelligence, and disgust the good taste of the people, by unworthy exhibitions; but they will not be able to effect anything more than to soil themselves."—*Washington Herald*.

Such is the style in which a journal at the seat of Government, professing to be the organ par excellence of the "National Democracy," speaks of Professor Silliman, Dr. Wayland, and other divines and professors, whose names are honored throughout the civilized world, and whose works have gone far to redeem our country from the obloquy brought upon it by the acts of too many of our politicians.

The railing and vituperation of the *Sentinel* will not prevent People from inquiring why it is that no Christian Professors and Divines, so remarkable for their usual reserve in political contests, absorbed in the duties of their peculiar callings, so disinclined to receive or prom-

inent interference in mere party questions, should feel it their duty, on this Nebraska Question, to depart from their general course, and enter a public protest, clear, firm, and dignified, against the Bill to repeal the Missouri Compromise. Such men are not accustomed to act without due deliberation and good reason. A movement so extraordinary on their part, shows that the proposed measure is regarded by them, and the Northern community in which they reside, as an extraordinary wrong and outrage; and it is the extreme of folly to suppose that any abuse which pro-slavery journals may choose to pour upon them, can counteract their influence or destroy the weight of their authority.

SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONVENTION—COMMERCIAL INDEPENDENCE.

The Southern Commercial Convention will meet in Charleston, S. C., the second Wednesday in April. The general object is the development of the resources and advancement of the interests of the Southern States. According to the Charleston *Courier*, the particular subjects that will probably engage the attention of the Convention are—

The increase of intercourse between the interior and seaboard, the diversification of slaveholding industry, direct trade between the South and Europe, and railroad communication from the Atlantic to the Pacific, especially as affected by the Gadsden Treaty.

The Political Press of the South seems disposed to give the Convention a semi-political character. It points to the present attitude of the North on the Nebraska Question, and "its arrogant assumption" that the Southern States shall be excluded from equal rights in the Territories of the Union, as full of warning to the slave States. It is high time, it says, to prepare for the worst, by directing attention to their own interests, and relying upon their own resources. They have been tributary to the North long enough, suffered enough from the unequal action of the Federal Government.

"If we are content to acknowledge our inferiority—it will matter little what course we may adopt—a certain and disgraceful destiny awaits us. But if we assert, and under all perils would maintain, those equal rights and liberties to which we were born, no better beginning could be made, than by shaking off commercial trammels, and converting every product of Southern industry to the aggrandizement and consolidation of Southern power." Another paper remarks—"The recent outrages upon Southern rights in New Bedford and Milwaukee cannot fail to excite the feelings of the Southern people, and induce them to look for and sustain all legal and proper measures calculated to increase their prosperity and strength. Nothing can so effectually protect our rights and interests against invasion, as entire commercial independence of the States disposed to insult or injure us."

A Mr. London, of Richmond, Va., in reply to an invitation to attend the coming Convention, writes a long letter in the *Richmond Enquirer*, in which he boldly proposes a discriminating tax in the Southern States on goods of Northern import or production! Not much does he hope from the Convention. "You will have in your body many men who will testify to the fact that our slaveholding is the result of the institution of Slavery, and you will find many projects submitted for the consideration of the Convention; you will have a report, some resolutions, and a good many very eloquent speeches; but you will find it end in nothing practical, unless the Legislatures of the Southern States act." We have had Conventions, he says, at Richmond, at Baltimore, at Memphis—but *cui bono*? The South is still in vassalage.

"We have, since that time, appropriated millions of dollars to works of internal improvement; some of us have embarked more largely in foreign trade; but there are not half a dozen vessels engaged in our own trade that are owned in Virginia, and I have been unable to find a vessel at Liverpool loading for Virginia, within three years, during the height of our busy season. Every foot of railroad and every yard of canal constructed in the Southern States is only so much added to the trade of the influence of New York, and binds you that much more securely to her bonds. Instead of these immense improvements resulting in an enlargement of your foreign commerce, it is but a contribution to your coasting trade, and results in a still more complete isolation as to how long it will take your shipkeepers to get the productions and importations of New York into your villages; all else but this is not considered. As to any of your improvements contributing to forward your own important trade, that is not thought of at all by your interior shipkeepers; for, throughout the South, all merchants have disappeared, entirely and completely."

Here is a picture, drawn by an intelligent Virginian, of the state of things in the Old Dominion;—not half a dozen vessels doing its trade, owned by its own citizens—not a vessel loading at Liverpool for Richmond or Norfolk—all its railroads and internal improvements the offspring of Northern money—and instead of stimulating trade with Europe, bringing the shipkeepers of Virginia into more intimate relations with New York!

Speeches, resolutions, reports, cannot change this state of things. The source of the mischief, Mr. London holds, is the Tariff policy of the Federal Government. Why this policy should divert foreign trade from the South, to the Northern seaports, why, under a system of impost, equal in all the ports of the United States, foreign commerce should leave Savannah, Charleston, Norfolk, and Richmond, and flow into New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, he does not explain. The Federal Government exacts no higher duties in the former than in the latter, and yet these monopolize foreign commerce!

The truth is, Northern capital is the life-blood of Southern industry. A country, doing itself to the production of one or two staples, and depending for the supply of its multiform wants, upon the proceeds, must always be tributary to other countries, in which labor is diversified, and employed in producing such articles as it must have. The planters in the British West Indies, under the system of Slavery, were always in debt. Their large exportations, in favorable years, when the sugar or coffee crop was abundant, enabled them to repay the heavy advances made them by the merchants in England, but left their estates encumbered with mortgages for advances made them in seasons of scarcity. The planters of the South are tributary to Northern capitalists, and this is why the proceeds of their exports, in the shape of foreign imports, find their way to Northern ports. They go to satisfy the engagements they have contracted there. Could they succeed in their dream of a direct trade with Europe, it would not relieve them from dependence, but merely transfer it from New York to Liverpool and London, the merchants and capitalists of which would obtain the same kind of commercial control over them, they once held over the West India planters.

It is easy to see that the evils of which the South complain, spring directly from the peculiar form of its industry, and that this is determined by the nature of its system of labor. Judging from what we know of the nature and working of the two systems of Slave Labor and Free Labor, in our own country, and from what history teaches of their workings elsewhere, Free Labor is adapted to diversified industry, while Slave Labor can be profitably

used chiefly in the production of a few staples. The latter may answer for Planting—the former alone can meet the various demands of Farming, Manufactures, the Mechanic Arts, and Commerce. No movement, then, short of a radical change in the labor system of the South, can build up the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, in that region. So long as it shall continue slaveholding, its industry cannot be much diversified, its consumption must always be derived chiefly from abroad, and it will always be more or less tributary to the countries which supply its every-day wants.

In view of these considerations, how so preposterous are the counsels of the correspondence of the Richmond *Enquirer*!

"Hospitality and gifted harangues, pompous resolutions and able disquisitions upon fields of enterprise yet to be opened, will not do the work. There must be State action, legislative and executive, which will force foreign trade to be protected and fostered against the pernicious hand of Federal violence and injustice. Individual enterprise cannot do it—the construction of railroads will not do it. You live under a Government, that collects money from you, and gives it to the use of other States; and until your Legislatures are wise enough and great enough to counteract that injustice by State interposition, your foreign trade will languish. All the prosperity which Charleston has, is the result of your not exempting the importation of goods in vessels owned in South Carolina from State taxation. This, however, is a very small contribution to the great object of rendering us commercially independent of the North. Tax their importations and exempt your own, their productions and exempt your own, and you will have your foreign trade before you will find a Southern commerce triumphantly recovering from its present debilitation."

"Your State and your town," says Mr. London, "furnish the strongest evidence which could be adduced, of the great value of the simple enactment of a law, apparently useless upon its face, yet in its practical operations of the greatest benefit."

"In the year 1832, I think, the Legislature of South Carolina enacted a law by which goods imported in vessels, owned in South Carolina, should be exempt from State taxation upon their sale by the original importer. This has acted as a check against the injustice of the Federal Government, by giving to your importing merchants an exemption from the duties which their goods in vessels owned in South Carolina."

Mr. London is rather unfortunate in his selection of a case to illustrate the value of such enactments. Of the wonderful benefits derived by South Carolina from this law, we may form some idea, when we learn from official documents that the whole number of vessels of all sorts built in South Carolina, in the year 1852, was precisely seven, with a total tonnage of 300! And that the total value of the imports into that State, which amounted to \$2,058,870 in 1840, had increased in 1852 to \$2,175,614—an astonishing increase in twelve years, of \$117,000!

It is curious to see these Slavey men, so full of admiration for the principle of Free Trade in Federal politics, so abounding in doctrines designed to convince the Northern Democracy that a tax on imports is a tax on consumption, repudiating the principle utterly in State legislation. Here is a Southern man, for example, who, without any regard to the Federal Constitution, which vests in Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the States, and ordains that all duties and imposts shall be equal, and in contempt of the whole scheme of Free Trade, would induce the Southern States to establish the policy of Protection—to tax the millions of consumers in those States for the benefit of a few hundred importers in half a dozen seaports of the South—to make the planters pay an extra cost for their supplies, for the pleasure of having them produced in England, and brought to them by a Charleston or Richmond merchant! One is at a loss which to admire more, the wisdom of this advice, or the profound knowledge of, and respect to, the Federal Constitution.

But we need not be surprised at any absurdity in such a quarter. No one can anticipate the extremes of folly to which a blind devotion to Slavery may drive its votaries.

THE NEBRASKA QUESTION—SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN SLAVERY—THE CONSTITUTION.

The National *Era* at Washington, the central organ of all the Anti-Slavery factions of the country, says that "the New York Herald," consistent upon no other subject of public interest, has ever been faithful to the interests of Slavery." Upon this allegation we have a word or two to say.

The Abolition organ at Washington tests the whole merits of the Slavery question upon the fundamental Abolition doctrine, that the hereditary system of Southern labor is an evil—a moral, social, and political evil—and that it should therefore be extinguished as soon as possible.

But, admitting Southern Slavery to be an evil, we doubt whether it leads to more deplorable consequences than our hiring system of free labor, which in truth may be called the white slavery system of the North, in contrast to the black system of the South. Let us judge of our own system by their fruit. "By their fruits shall ye know them."

We find that the number of paupers in the six New England States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, and New Jersey, is 33,431, while, for the same year, the same class of persons in the six Southern States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, numbered only 15,000. Of these, the native paupers in England numbered 19,000, while those of the six Southern States amounted to but 12,000.

Recapitulation.—Six New England States, population 2,705,896, native paupers 19,000; six Southern States, population 5,219,776, native paupers 12,000.

That is to say, the six New England States, boasting the highest elements of Northern perfection, in free schools, free labor, free speech, and free man, have an average of more than three to every native-born pauper, as compared with Mr. Seward's official return, that that class in the six Southern States of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. We select the native paupers, because the foreign are an extraneous element, and we select the official return, because the same advantage will appear to the South in the comparative returns of the insane, the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the insane.—*New York Herald*.

We have no doubt that all this is received as gospel by the Pro-Slavery readers of the *Herald*, but it is an entire misrepresentation from beginning to end, and the very Census returns to which the writer appeals, completely expose his unfairness.

According to these returns, the whole number of native paupers that received public support in all the States within the year ending June 1st, 1850, was—

In the Free States 59,923
In the Slave States 16,431

Total 66,354

Taking the entire free population of each section, the proportion was:

In the Free States, 1 in 262
In the Slave States, 1 in 335.

These tables show that in the course of one year, the relative number of paupers receiving public support in the Free States is a little larger than in the Slave States. But, this proves nothing against free labor institutions, as the following considerations will prove:

1. The number of paupers relieved at pub-

lic charge is not a true criterion of the amount of pauperism. No one who is acquainted with both sections of the Union doubts that the free States have provided more efficiently for the relief of paupers than the slave States. In the former, for example, in 1850, the average provision for each pauper for the year was \$47, in the latter only \$37. The same sentiment which leads to better provision for the individual pauper, will lead to public provision for a greater number.

2. The large class of persons, viz: *Leborders*, peculiarly liable to privation, out of which the great majority of paupers spring, are slaves in the South, and are kept in a state of perpetual dependence. The difference between them and white paupers, is that they are dependent upon the charity of their masters, who exact more than payment for what they give, while the white paupers are dependent upon the State, which relieves their wants when necessary, without making claims of them.

3. But, other things being equal, without any reference to institutions, we might naturally expect more physical suffering in the troublous latitudes of the North than the genial climes of the South. The census enables us to verify this presumption. The whole number of native paupers at public charge on the 1st of June, 1850, was—

In the free States, 24,802
In the slave States, 12,114

In other words, in summer, when the two sections are on an equal footing as to genial weather, the free States have fewer paupers receiving public support than the slave States; for while the free population of the latter scarcely exceeds one-fourth of the whole free population of the country, their paupers at public charge on the 1st of June, 1850, were a little less than one-third of the whole number. This fact, then, not only shows the influence of a rigorous climate in producing physical suffering, but that, when the operation of this cause is suspended, there is a greater number of paupers at public expense in the slave States, than in the free!

This conclusion is reached also by instituting other comparisons. Take, for instance, the three States, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and compare them with Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. They do not differ much in soil or natural advantages; and they are all agricultural. The chief difference between them lies in the character of their institutions—one class being slave States, the other free. Now, the Census shows that the number of paupers relieved in the year 1850, at public expense, in the three slave States, was 1 to 654 of the whole free population; while in the three free States it was 1 to 1,113 of the whole free population.

Again—taking Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, and Arkansas, these Southern States, which are comparatively exempt from a rigorous climate and extremes of temperature, we find that the whole number of paupers in them, in the year 1852, was but 901, or 1 in 1,444 of the free population; while the rest of the slave States contained 15,510 paupers, or 1 in 335. Does the *Herald* pretend to say that the social system in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, is higher and more beneficent than that of Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland?

We can now understand, at once, the unfairness of the *Herald* in comparing the six New England States, exposed to terribly severe and protracted winters, with six Southern States, where the winters are short and comparatively mild. The random assertion which closes the foregoing extract, "that the same advantage will appear to the South, in the comparative returns of the idiotic, the deaf and dumb, the blind, and insane," is equally untenable.

By referring to the Census, it will be found that the proportions of mutes and of blind in the two sections are the same; that of the insane there is a slight disproportion against the free States, while of the idiotic there is a more decided disproportion against the slave States. Thus the proportion of insane in the free States in 1850 was 1 to 1,295; in the slave States, as 1 in 1,809; of idiotic, in the free States, as 1 in 1,604; in the slave States, as 1 in 1,037. It will never do for the supporters of Slavery to appeal to any trustworthy statistics to show its superiority over free labor institutions. Suppose the *Herald* try again; or, should its courage fail, perhaps Senator Butler, who, in a late speech in the Senate, made quite a free, if not judicious, use of statistics, would like to institute some comparisons.

THE OCCASION AND ITS DUTIES.

If appearances are at all trustworthy, the geographical question mooted by a late eminent New England statesman may be considered as good as settled. There is a North. It begins to be understood that it is hardly safe for political filibusters and piratical adventures to ignore its existence, and treat it as a fabulous Cape Flyaway or Isle of St. Brendan's. The Nebraska mischief, like most other evils, has its incidental and unlooked for compensations—it has revealed the North.

The action of the Legislatures of New York, Maine, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts; the public meetings of men of all parties in nearly all the principal cities and towns of the Free States; the municipal elections of Detroit and Milwaukee; the falling off of the Democratic vote in New Hampshire, although the friends of the Administration spared no pains to impress the People with the belief that the Nebraska question had nothing to do with the State election; the united remonstrance of the clergy of New England, of all denominations and all political parties—these are among the indications of a development of Northern feeling, which can scarcely be mistaken.

There is a North! The returns of the New Hampshire election must, we think, satisfy such skeptics even as General Pierce and Secretary Cushing of this fact.

Look at one significant fact. Heretofore, whenever any Administration, Whig or Democratic, has taken the responsibility of a measure pending in Congress, there has been no difficulty in getting up public meetings in its favor, and in giving it the support of caucuses and conventions. In this respect the Nebraska Bill presents a striking exception. It is an Administration measure. It is urged with all the appliances of party machinery and Governmental patronage. The President and his Cabinet are irrevocably involved in it. They have made its support a test of party soundness, and what is more to the purpose, a condition of office. Yet, while all over the free States, public meetings are convened against the measure—meetings unprecedented for number and for the determined spirit of the speakers and resolute—we hear of only two or three feeble attempts at popular demonstrations in its favor.

This is not the fault of the Government partisans. Sold to the Demon of Patronage, and renouncing all pretensions to self-control and private judgment, they have no alternative but to yield passively wherever it suits the convenience of the possessors of their master to get up a grand national puppet-dance of officeholders. They have stood alone in opposition to the Anti-Slavery demonstrations in their respective localities—the People of all parties on one side; Collector, Postmaster, and a tide-water or two, on the other. They have penned editorial leads for subsidized presses,

and even relinquished a part of their official pay for electioneering purposes. They have plied, but the People would not dance. The plain common sense of disinterested men of all parties has rejected their arguments in favor of the Nebraska perfidy. Never within the memory of man have the people of the free States been so united upon any political question as they are at this moment in opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the introduction of Slavery into the great territory of the West.

Unhappily, however, in this struggle between the People on one hand, and the Government on the other, the power of the former is delegated to men within the reach of the temptations which the latter holds out as the reward of a betrayal of trust. The heavy money-bags of the Treasury have been cast into the scale, and there is good reason to fear that they will turn it against Freedom and the popular will. We are told that the President has already secured the requisite number of Congressional traitors, and that, in spite of all opposition, the Bill will become a law.

What will then follow? Will the betrayed People rise in their indignation and repeal the law? Or will they be soothed into acquiescence by the assurance of Northern statesmen that "no great interest is at stake"? Will they not be told that it is only the concession of a principle to the Slave Power—a mere abstraction? Slavery will not be likely to go into Nebraska, under any circumstances. Why should the free States trouble themselves about a word more or less in the Bill organizing Territories which are pretty sure of coming into the Union free? Let the South make the most of its barren victory. Why should the North keep up a useless agitation of the subject?

But suppose the Bill, after all, is defeated in the House? There, of course, is the end of the matter; and the North, having carried its point and saved the Compromise, has nothing further to do. Agitation is superfluous; the blessed quiet following the Compromise of 1850 is restored.

So we fear too many who assume to be leaders of public opinion in the North are reasoning. Admit (what we do not for a moment believe, however) that Slavery will not, in any event, obtain a permanent foothold in Nebraska and Kansas. Do we not know that Young America is grasping after new territory, now without the limits of the United States? A gigantic scheme of conquest and annexation is in progress, involving Cuba with its hundreds of thousands of slaves, Hayti with its million of free blacks to be re-enslaved, Mexico, and Central America. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise would leave Slavery free course in all these vast territories. The free States have a majority in Congress. Establish the principle that Congress cannot interfere with the Territories in the matter of Slavery, and that majority becomes the silent and powerless spectator of the triumphant progress of the exorable institution from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from its present boundary on the Rio del Norte to the Isthmus of Darien.

The defeat of this Bill is, then, of the utmost importance. It will lessen the danger, and, by giving the free States an opportunity to combine their political strength, perhaps avert it altogether. But one thing is certain. Defeated or victorious in the present struggle, Slavery will remain the silent and powerless spectator of the triumphant progress of the exorable institution from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from its present boundary on the Rio del Norte to the Isthmus of Darien.

Shall we learn nothing from the past? At the very time when Northern statesmen and Northern divines were congratulating one another upon the final settlement of the Slavery agitation—a settlement obtained only by most disgraceful and wicked concessions to Slavery—the great Disturber was maturing the plot for extending its power over those vast Territories of the West which its own pledges and votes had confirmed to Freedom forever. What has been, will be. New plots will be organized, new aggressions commenced. How many more times must the North be brayed in the mortar, before it will learn the first lesson of self-preservation?

"The Fugitive Slave Law," says Ralph Waldo Emerson, "partially unglued the eyes of the North, and now the Nebraska bill leaves us staring." The blindest Hunkerism seen at last, what it has so long denied, that Slavery is itself the agitator and aggressor—an evasive and disturbing force, urging its schemes of propagandism, without regard to "peace measures," or "

ENTS. | GILMAN'S HAIR DYE.

in this city and surrounding country. Read! G
MAN'S LIQUID HAIR DYE *instantaneously* cha

the hair is a brilliant jet black or glossy brown which is permanent; does not stain or in any way change with the seasons; grows thick and white with age; will compare with it. We would advise all who have gray hairs to buy it, if it never falls." *Boston Post.*

Z. S. GILMAN; Chemist, Washington, City, D. C.

For sale by Druggists, Hair-Decorators, and Dealers in Fancy Articles, throughout the United States.

AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL.
FOR THE RAPID CURE OF
COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS,
WHOPPING COUGH, CRUP, ASTHMA, AND
CONSUMPTION.

[illegible]

over the Woodworth chime, after a trial of three weeks. N. G. NO. 408RUS.

Leeds, Feb. 14, 1854

JOHN CALVERLEY.

MANUFACTURER of Candles Monks, No. 109 Race (Sassaparil) street, above Third, opposite the White Swan Hotel, Philadelphia. Dec. 1—3m

THE UNITED STATES JOURNAL.

Is the largest quarto published in America, and contains more reading matter than any \$2 Magazines.

About a year ago, we promised to bestow upon our subscribers a premium of \$1,000 as soon as their number should reach 100,000. We have also offered per annum, for the same number, a choice of 25 persons sending in the largest number of subscribers. We hereby announce that all the above premiums have been paid, and the number reached 1854. We also are offering an inducement to subscribers and agents.

Advertisements, containing particulars, sent to order, free of charge.

Publishers of papers giving this one insertion will be placed on our subscription list for the year.

Jan. 10. Tribune Buildings New York.

LARD OIL, STAR BRAND ADAMANTINE CANDLES.

NO. 1 Extra Large, Well adapted and free from all impurities, manufactured in the finest machinery, woodens, and solar lamps.

Star and Adamantine Candles, full-weight and prime quality, manufactured under the climate of California, Australia, the Indies, and Africa.

Orders for any quantity executed promptly. Apply to

THE ADAMANTINE MANUFACTURER, Cincinnati, O.

GEO. W. NEWBOLD,
Manager and Counsellor at Law, Chicago, Ill.

WILL pay particular attention to collecting bad debts in Chicago and vicinity. **Oct. 20.**

NED DOW'S

ONE HUNDRED DAYS' MADE MONEY,
consisting of one hundred valuable information, and 100 Receipts, by which persons have cleared from three to ten dollars a day the past year, and one hundred and one days' more, for the State of every station in life, whether for travelling or a permanent locality, and something every mechanic, trader, and professional man, should have. Send for a dollar post paid, the above will be forwarded. Address

M. EDWARD DOW,
Pittsford, Massachusetts.

March 13.

DEWEARDED WATER CURE ESTABLISHMENT.

THE above Establishment continues in successful operation during the winter as well as summer months. The average number of patients who have been on the increase from month to year, for the past six years, until the last season, when the de-

For, with respect to JOHN C. WHITLOCK, the names and number of certificates can sent you, if you wish it.

Dr. J. C. Ayer.

SIR: This may certify that I have used your *Physic Retort* for upwards of one year, and it is my sincere belief that it has done more for me at this time if I had not. It has cured me of a dangerous affection of the lungs, and I do not evocate its virtues from any other source, it is a priceless remedy.

Yours, very respectfully,
D. M. McCULLIN, Attorney at Law.

Dr. J. C. Ayer.

Prepared by J. A. McCULLIN, Chemist, Lowell, Mass.
Sold in Washington by Z. D. GILMAN, and by Druggists and Dealers in Medicine everywhere.

THE PEOPLE'S PATENT OFFICE.

THIS well-known Establishment is still carried on by a personal superintendence of its founder, or ALFRED E. BEACON, and contains for its patrons drawings, specifications, and documents for four classes of Patents, Foreign Patents, are prepared with the utmost rapidity and at a moderate rate.

Persons wishing for advice relative to Patents, or for a full and complete knowledge of the *Patent Law without charge*, either personally at his office, or by letter, and living at a distance, he would send them the necessary information, and at the same time all the needed assistance, and all the charges can be arranged by letter, just as well as if the parties were present, and the expense of a journey be saved. When parties are desirous of a journey to be enabled to be enabled to obtain Patents, it is not necessary to be present, as they may be forwarded by mail a rough outline sketch and description of the invention, and a charge is made for such examinations.

[illegible][illegible]

is presented. Its thing narratives have received the unanimous verdict of unqualified praise from the scores of religious reviewers.

N. B. The most liberal terms will be given. Attractive circulars for canvassing furnished on application to FRINGER & Co., 222 Broadway, N. Y.

March 2. No 222 Broadway, N. Y.

A CHARMING BOOK.

LATELY published, in one beautifully-ornamented volume, 4to, *Stories for Alice*. By a Mother with a Daughter. 1864. 10s. 6d. Cloth, 7s 6c; or, slightly colored, 8s 1; and with gilt sides and edges, or 8s 25.

These charming children's stories, written by a lady, daughter of one of our most enterprising and prominent merchants, who has long been known as a writer of very attractive and popular books of friends in this city, amongst whom her poems have circulated in manuscript. At their urgent request, she has given to the public this charming volume, and we feel sure every young person into whose hands it may fall will be so delighted and charmed as to be anxious to possess it.

For sale by LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO, & CO., Philadelphia; IVISON & PHINNEY, New York.

of Buchanan on the Grapes we subjoin a table of the contents of the book.

Mr. Downing, in his *Horticulturalist*, says: "To do more with facts, with actual experience and observation, and less with speculation, supposition, and theory, is the object of this book, which is published in the United States. In other words, a man may take it, and plant a vineyard, and raise grapes for market."

"Farishear, in a small space, a very great amount of instructive information relative to the culture of the Grape."—*Flower's and Planter's Encyclopedia*.

It will be found to convey the most important and valuable information relative to the subject. See *Neill's Rose and Flower Garden*.

Those who desire the book sent by mail will find it to be a most interesting and useful work. It is sent by mail, prepaid, the publisher, for the price, by the following names.

March 21—2w

MOORE, ANDERSON, & CO., New York.

For sale by LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO, & CO., Philadelphia; IVISON & PHINNEY, New York.

ENERGETIC BUSINESS MEN
CAN find profitable employment in selling *Graham's Life Great Works*.

A HISTORY OF ALL NATIONS;
from the earliest times to the present time, or
UNIVERSAL HISTORY;
in which the *History of every Nation, ancient and modern*, is separately given. By *P. C. GORDON*, Consul for Africa, author of *Peter Plurley's Travels*, &c. 2 Vols. 276 pages, 12s. 6d. Bound in Morocco and 70s. 6d. Bound in Morocco.

THE WORK is not for sale in Bookshops, by *subscription*, or in any other manner, than from the *author*.

RICHARD W. MATTHEWS, Proprietor, has the pleasure to inform his friends and the public that he has just received a large stock of the following papers of our land do not meet the demands of the community. They please the eye and interest the reader, and are well instructed and enlighten the mind with reference to the great sins of the age. Reformers! The following are the names of the papers:—
 The Christian, published weekly, for Sabbath schools and day schools.
 The Instructor is published every other week, or twenty-six numbers per year. A new volume commences January 5, 1854. A Corresponding Editor has been intrusted and solicited the most interesting, ready current and admired by many. Illustrations will be given in every number. No reasonable exchange will be made. The price is \$1.00 per annum. Five thousand subscribers were added last year.
 Our Terms—*variable in advance.*
 For single copies, 50 cts. \$0.25
 Five or one person do 2.50
 Ten to one person do 5.00
 Twenty do 10.00
 Forty do 20.00 postage paid do 5.00
 Forty do 5.40 do 5.32
 Forty do 5.40 do 5.40
 One hundred do 12.00 do 76.80
 This is only *twelve copies a copy*, where fifty copies are ordered, the price is charged as for other quantities.
 The paper is of the country, and cheaper than many of them. Address,
 P. S. C. MATTHEWS, Syracuse, N. Y.
 P. S. See *2m* number sent, free of charge.
 Jan. 7—2m